/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of
556 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ǩåbōgeʷōge, Ẹ́wåguddudoge ǩåbōgeʷōge, and Ẹ́wåguddudoge bo'pokẹjewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẹ́wåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čę̣begeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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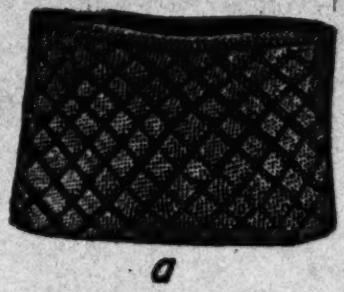
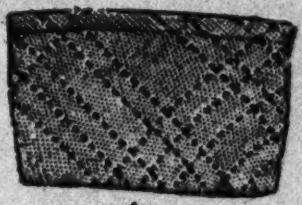


a



b

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FIGURE 51.—Bororo textiles and pottery. *a*, *b*, Bags with weave and designs the same as mats; *c*, *d*, water jars (1/7 to 1/11 natural size); *e*, ladle (1/4 natural size); *f*, plate (1/4 natural size); *g*, bowl (1/6 to 1/17 natural size); *h*, cup (1/3 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

412 237 284 415 531 534

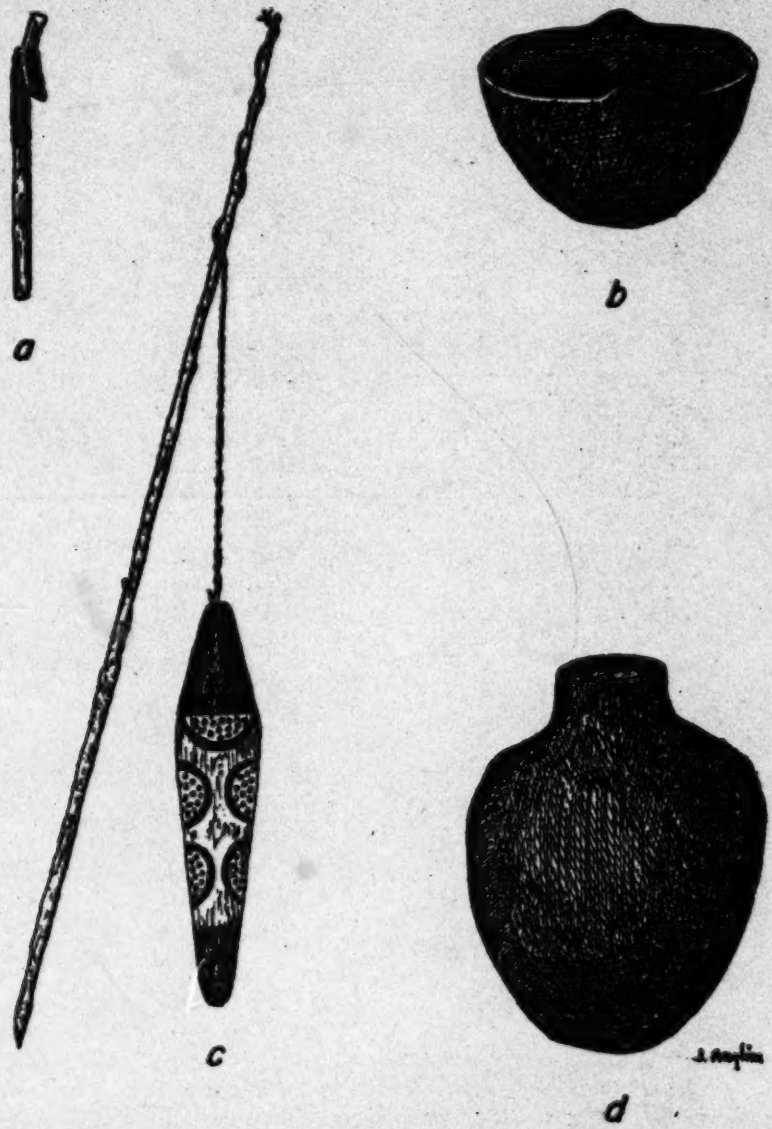

FIGURE 82.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

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Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

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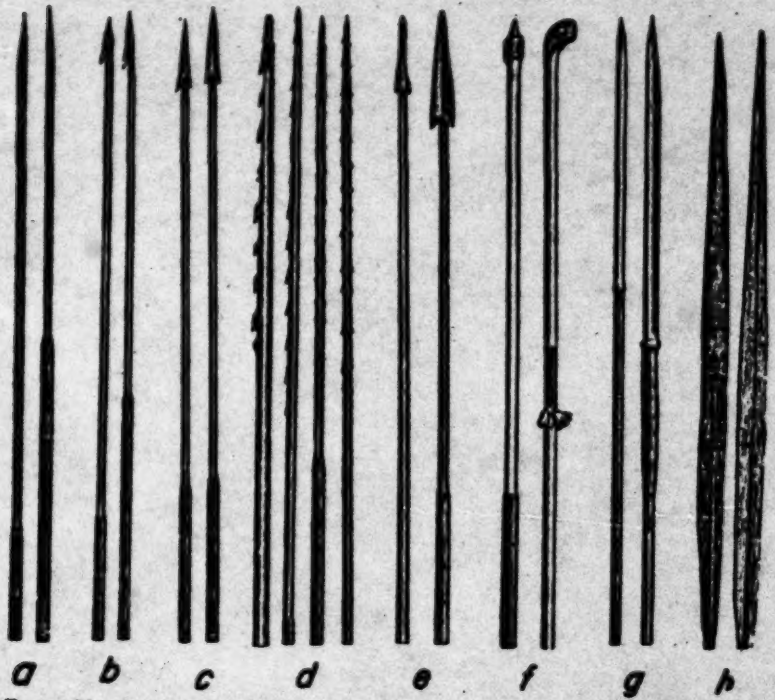

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP

M B 172 of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it
shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bea
a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It w
unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measu
ing but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in heigh
It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration
black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. Th
hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that th
rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the other
only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond an
triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware
red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 b.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at th
same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in associatio
with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetr
below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packe

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it i
order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumptio

B [88] [804] [415] but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of th
Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his bo
hood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catameni
periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremo
in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for th
amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it w
per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of th
Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Boro
of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken
conclusive.

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concav
bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arro
gotten in the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came up
a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which co

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
Yaruma SP25 PLATE XX

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[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88. — Analyst]

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

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Woman scrapes wall in an anari palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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[p. 41-B]

6:Kouik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP6 Bancro SP6

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p.45-B]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment.

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For a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

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[764]
[616]

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Calabash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature, ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive housekeeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments, or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut. Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 264 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two 276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 264 A few hours after sunrise, an *aredo* appeared at the entrance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a 616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been [252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot [415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six- [261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two 574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro 576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
191 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

[25] We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487 * In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [149] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/490 cont./

beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room. They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

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421 **PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:**

Law 67
Ownership of productive capital 471
Property arrangements upon termination of marriage 588

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi roqu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uyegedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).